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V.—*On the Genitive in Old French.*

BY HANS C. G. VON JAGEMANN, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND PHILOLOGY IN
INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, IND.

SOME years ago a German teacher published a pamphlet the object of which was to show that Latin and Modern French syntax could be taught by the same rules. The idea was not a bad one, for there are certainly a great many points in which Latin and French usage resemble each other very closely, but unfortunately the points of difference are so numerous that it would be utterly impracticable to teach a boy Latin and French at the same time without completely confusing him. On the other hand, if a student is already well grounded in the fundamental rules of Latin syntax, constant reference to the same must be regarded as a valuable help in teaching Modern French, particularly if the additional element of the Old French can be drawn upon for comparison.

The object of the present paper is to show how, as far as the use of the genitive case is concerned, Latin differs from Modern French and what intermediate position the Old French holds between the two. As the representative of the Old French I have selected the "*Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople*" by Villehardouin¹ since this writer is really the first original French prose writer of any account. Most of the French prose writings before Villehardouin were either translations of Latin works or slavish imitations of such without regard to the genius of the new language.

It is usually said that in the transformation of the Popular Latin into the Romance languages two agencies may be seen at work: first, phonetic decay, second the tendency toward analytical construction. Different writers have insisted more particularly on either one or the other of these two principles and in fact it would be possible,—theoretically—to explain most changes on the ground of either one of the linguistic tendencies named.

¹ The figures in the references denote sections and lines in the edition of Villehardouin by Paulin Paris, Paris, 1848.

For an analytical language can do away with declensional and conjugational inflections, hence a tendency toward analytical construction means also a tendency toward simplification of forms, hence phonetic decay. On the other hand, the tendency toward phonetic decay admitted, the decrease of distinctive inflections arising from the same, would produce a tendency toward analytical construction as a substitute for the lost inflections. Or, to give a particular instance: it is possible that the loss of the Latin case endings made it necessary to express case relations by prepositions, as was done in the Romance languages; but, theoretically, it is also possible, that the use of prepositions gave rise to the dropping of the case endings, since now, without sacrificing clearness, case relations could be expressed without the cumbrous inflections.

While we may thus theoretically ascribe the majority of the changes that took place in the transformation of the Popular Latin into the Romance tongue, to either the principle of phonetic decay or the tendency toward analytical construction, there is historical evidence enough to show that phonetic decay was the older and stronger of the two agencies. Not only is it universally found in language, but in the Popular Latin particularly it may be traced back to very remote times. On the other hand, the tendency toward analytical construction must be admitted as an independent linguistic agency, as we find traces of such constructions quite independent of phonetic decay. Cicero's "*habeo dictum*" is almost too well known to be quoted.

By this tendency toward analytical construction the Latin preposition *de*, originally denoting the going out, departure, removal or separating of a thing from any fixed point, came to be used to express relations which in Classical Latin had been expressed by the genitive case. From the idea of "going out of" grew out that of "belonging to" and this coincided with the principal idea which seems to have underlain the Latin genitive. Hence we find already in the Popular Latin such constructions as *quarrada de melle*, a load of honey, *monasterium de Santo Mauritio*, *homo de viginti annis*, etc. (Diez).

On the other hand, where in Latin the ablative case was used to denote relations similar to those of "going out of" or "originating in," as, for instance, in the case of the so-called ablative of cause or of instrument, the loss of the ablative case in French

and the general levelling tendency of the new language caused such relations likewise to be expressed by the genitive.

Thirdly, the preposition *de* is used in French in all cases where the same was used in Latin, e. g. *de te loquimur: nous parlons de toi*. Here *de* is a real preposition, not merely a case particle and we cannot properly call *de toi* a genitive.

Our subject divides itself hence into two parts :

1. The French genitive succeeding the Latin genitive.
2. The French genitive succeeding the Latin ablative.

The Genitive in French succeeding the Latin Genitive.

The genitive is used in Latin :

1. as *genitivus subjectivus* : to denote that which does something or to which a thing belongs, e. g. *facta Caesaris, horti Caesaris*. In French the preposition *de* takes the place of the Latin genitive, but in Old French the case particle is often omitted and the simple objective case used. Here we must distinguish between proper names, nouns denoting persons and such denoting things.

a. The oblique case without *de* of proper names, without a preceding noun denoting a title, etc., occurs rarely. We find it, however, in *la merci Dieu, el voyage Dieu* 49.15, 51.7, etc., *l'incarnation Jhesu Christ* 1.2, *la honte Jhesu-Christ* 12.6, etc.; also *el lieu Thiebaut de Champagne* 27.6, *au tens Innocent l'apostle de Rome* 1.2, and *en la main Joffroi le mareschal* 124.34, 149.20; also in apposition, vid. below.

b. Before nouns denoting persons the case particle is often omitted, especially after words denoting family relations like *frères, fils, suer*, etc.: *li fils l'empereour de Constantinoble qui est frères sa femme* 51.4, *sa femme fu fille le roi de Navarre* 23.13; vid. 30.13, 51.4. 59.3, 60.3, 68.5, etc. Also often after words like *palais, ostel, conseil, mesnie*, vid. 3.4, 24.4, 37.7, 53.6, 62.39, 64.4, 75.19, etc.

Hence in Modern French such expressions as Fête-Dieu, Hôtel-Dieu, église St. Pierre, rue Voltaire, Quarantaine-le-Roi, etc.

When two nouns in the genitive case are governed by the same word, *de* is sometimes used before the one, but omitted before the other, e. g.: *les noces l'empereour Henri de Constantinoble et de la fille le marchis de Monferrat* 169.29. When one

genitive is governed by another, *de* is sometimes, but rarely omitted before both: *de la mesnie le frère Baudoin de Flandres* 75.19.

c. Omission of *de* before common nouns does not occur. Beside the omission of the case-particle, the frequent substitution of the dative for the Latin subjective genitive is worthy of notice. This construction is most common in cases similar to those where *de* is omitted. We find *la fille au roi Tancre*, *la fille dou roi Tancre*, and *la fille le roi Tancre*, vid. 6.3, 20.13, 25.4, 26.10, 32.24, etc. This construction is common in the popular phraseology of the present day. When the governing noun is used as predicate with the auxiliary verb *estre*, the dative seems to have been preferred to either of the two other constructions: *la contesse Marie qui suer estoit au conte Thiebaut de Champagne* 6.3. Exception: *une cité qui avoit esté l'empereour de Constantinoble* 150.18. The dative of a personal pronoun is found once: *qui cousins germains li estoit* 122.9. Once we find in the same sentence two constructions combined: *cil dist à l'empereour Baudqin moult vivement le message son seigneur et as autres barons*, 123.8. The dative *as autres barons* belongs to *message*, not to *dist*, as might be supposed. Vid. chap. 121. Singular is the use of the dative in the following connection: *mcult fu grans desconfors aus pelerins de la mort au conte Thiebaut de Champagne* 25.6.

With the above exceptions the Latin genitivus subjectivus is regularly expressed by the preposition *de*. Here it may be remarked that words like *endroit*, *parmi*, *environ*, etc., which are originally composed of a preposition and a noun, and would therefore require the genitive, are already used as simple prepositions, governing the oblique case. Besides those already mentioned we have in Villehardouin: *contremont*, *contreval*, *emmi*, *encoste*, *entour*.

A peculiar kind of the subjective genitive is the genitive of apposition, which is already used in Latin, but to a much smaller extent than in Modern French. In Latin it is always used after words like *vox*, *nomen*, *verbum*, etc.; sometimes after *oppidum*, *terra*, *provincia*, etc.; regularly, when the genus is defined by the species: *virtus continentiae*. In Modern French this genitive is used wherever there is a subordination of a special term to a generic term. Villehardouin employs it very regularly; but whenever the special term is a personal proper name, the

case particle is dropped according to the usage spoken of above. We find therefore: *la cilé de Jerusalem* 130.20, 132.6, etc.; *le país de Bourgoigne* 28.9; *la terre de Babilone* 52.19, 59.21, 87.9, etc.; *el palais de Calcidoine* 64.8, 65.17, 74.6, etc.; *le chastel de Buimont* 74.23, 105.14, 154.28, etc.; *le flum de Charte* 163.5; *le mois d'avril* 172.1, 177.52; *la montagne de Blaquie* 176.16, 177.59. No exceptions.

But the case-particle is omitted in the following cases; *l'église Sainte Sophie* 163.17, but *une église de Sainte Jehan de l'ospital de Jerusalem* 89.43; *qui ot non Foulque de Nulli* 1.5, 10.9, 23.13, 42.2, 47.14 and many other examples, no exceptions; *el moustier Saint-Marc* 15.2, 23.11, 62.2, etc.; but *el moustier des Apôtres* 111.2; *l'abaïe Nostre Dame de Soisson* 27.4; *l'autel Saint Marc* 40.10; *la feste Saint Martin* 44.18, 59.17, 62.27, 87.57, and many other examples. The omission of *de* after *feste* was the first step toward the modern elliptical construction: *la Saint-Michel*, etc., comp. 18.9, 89.23; exceptions: *la feste de Nostre-Dame Chandeleur* 156.3, but without *de* 168.26; *la feste de Saint Marc* 39.2. Other examples: *le bras Saint-George* 60.38, 61.7, etc.; *la tour Galatas* 71.11; *le gonfanon Saint Marc* 78.4, 79.1; *l'ille Saint-Nicholas* 33.8, but *l'ile de Grece* 109.32. The last example will be a proof of the correctness of the observation, that as a rule the case-particle is omitted only before personal proper names. Exceptions are not found in Villehardouin, rarely in other places, e. g.: *Gehsesmani vil' es n'anez*, and *andez, fillies Jherusalem*. (Passion du Christ).

As to the syntactical position of the subjective genitive it must be remarked, that while in Modern French the genitive must immediately follow its governing noun, in Villehardouin's language the same may be separated by other members of the sentence; also inversion may take place, which in Modern French is only allowed in poetry: *quar une meslée commença des Véniciens et des Français* 49.28, *moult fu grant décroissement à l'ost de ceux qui . . .* 33.3. The oblique case as well as the dative used in place of the genitive, generally follow the governing noun; exceptions are rare and occur only with *Dieu*: *par la Dieu grace*, *la Dieu merci*, *la Dieu main* 50.13, 49.15, 51.7, 96.23.

2. The genitive is used in Latin, as *genitivus objectivus*, to denote that which is affected by the action or feeling spoken of. It is expressed by Villehardouin as well as in Modern French by

the preposition *de*: *il metra tout l'empire de Constantinoble à l'obedience de Rome* 51.4; *qui tel mordre et tele traison avoit fait de son seigneur* 127.9; *et i firent grant gaing de proies et de prisons* 99.13, etc.

Diez says (Gr. d. r. Spr. 5. ed. p. 868): "in der formel *amor dei* fällt im Prov. und Altfr. die casuspartikel aus." There are, however, several other cases, where Villehardouin omits the case-particle before the objective genitive: *le service Dieu* 1.16, 25.7, 57.25; *la vengeance nostre Seigneur* 17.13; *le secors l'empereour* 137.54; *la féaulté l'empereour* 114.5.

The syntactical position of the objective genitive is the same as that of the subjective genitive.

3. The genitive is used in Latin, as *genitivus qualitatis*, to denote the external condition or the internal nature of a person or a thing, either joined directly to the governing noun, or by an elliptical construction, as predicate in connexion with the verbs *esse*, *feri*, *haberi*. In either case the genitive must be accompanied by an adjective. Under the same conditions the *ablativus qualitatis* may be used, the latter, however, expressing generally only transitory qualities or conditions. In French the genitive is used to express these relations, and it is also used to denote the material of which a thing is composed, where in Latin an adjective would be employed: *une maison de bois*. Villehardouin's use of the genitive of quality agrees on the whole with that of the Modern French; a remnant of the Latin construction, however, is found in the regular accompaniment of nouns expressing internal qualities by adjectives: *qui ert prisiés et de grand renom* 148.4; *mais il estoit de moult grant cuer* 46.6. Transitory qualities, which in Latin are usually expressed by the ablative, are sometimes put in the dative: *qui mout estoient à grant paor* 138.9, a confusion of cases, which, during the time of the formation of a language, cannot surprise us. The genitive of quality is often used after *estre*: *moult fu li os bel et de bonnes gens* 33.9. To express the material of which a thing is made, the genitive is used as in Modern French: *un pont de pierre* 74.9, etc. The position of the genitive of quality is always after the governing noun.

4. The genitive is used in Latin, as *genitivus partitivus*, to express the whole of which anything is a part, or to which it belongs as a part. A comparison of the Old French use of the partitive genitive with that of the Latin and the Modern French

will show better than anything else what intermediate position the Old French language holds between the synthetical Latin and the analytical Modern French. Villehardouin enjoyed the linguistic resources of both periods of the language and used them freely. He uses the partitive genitive regularly:

a) after nouns denoting a certain measure of things of the same kind: *trente quatre mil mars d'argent* 37.8, 38.12, 51.18, 87.5, etc.

b) with all words which denote a part of a whole. Such are:

aa. nouns, e. g.: *moitié* 14.14, 49.21, 90.13, 141.27, etc.; *plenté* 10.7, 31.3, etc.; *partie* 21.3, 23.1, 31.20, etc.; *compagnie* 43.15, 100.16; *foison* 26.12, 81.16; *part* 90.3; *multitude* 118.18; *li remenans* 145.48, 154.40, 155.13. The only exception of this class which I have been able to find is also the only case of a partitive genitive (except the pronoun *en*) preceding the governing substantive: *serjens à cheval grant parti* 155.16.

bb. all superlatives: *li pluseur des barons de la terre et de nos pélerins* 39.3, 15.8, 16.9, 17.11, 39.8, etc. As a superlative may be considered *soveraine: qui de toutes autres estoit souveraine* 61.20. In conformity with modern usage, the genitive generally follows the governing superlative. The only apparent exception is: *li baron de France li plus haut et li plus puissant* 16.9, where *li baron de France* is a formula. Sometimes the genitive is separated from the superlative by a verb, which is not permitted in Modern French: *qui plus grans estoient del conseil au marchis* 119.22.

cc. numerals: *uns des plus doutés homes* 26.2; *quarante homes des plus sages de toute la terre* 15.8, 23.5, 32.21, 38.8, 41.8, etc. The genitive regularly follows the numeral.

dd. pronouns: *il enmena de gent ce que il en pot mener* 83.9, 91.25, 113.10, etc.; *quantques avoir en pot* 164.5, 157.44, etc. The genitive may precede the pronoun when the construction of the sentence demands it.

ee. adjectives and adverbs. Here contrary to modern usage the greatest liberty prevails as to the use of the partitive genitive, and it is necessary to examine the different adjectives and adverbs separately.

Satis is in Latin always followed by the genitive: *satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum in Catilina fuit*. The same is true of *assez* in Modern French, and generally, but not always in Old French: *et assés en i ot de mors et de pris* 72.15, 34.9, 49.4, 72.15;

but: *il n'avoient mie encore deniers assés* 8.4; also two examples where *assés* stands after the noun: *autres gens assés* 29.4, and *pèlerins assez* 42.12; but it precedes the noun in *si ot assés paroles dites* 13.8 (*assés i ot de paroles* 65.21, 123.29); *si gaaignèrent assés bues et vaches et bugles* 165.2; similarly 59.28, 133.35. Villehardouin seems to be at liberty to omit *de* whenever the use of it would injure the symmetry of the sentence, as in: *il gaaignèrent assés et proies et autres avoirs* 153.34. The same remark applies to

plus, which is generally construed with the genitive, as in 22.14, 53.10, 62.6, 87.52, 119.12, but without *de* in: *plus i ot arses maisons à ces trois feus que . . .* 106.29, which instance also shows how great a liberty existed at that time in regard to the syntactical position of such adverbs of quantity, a liberty which the modern language has entirely lost.

Tant, as adverb, is generally used with the genitive: *tant de gent* 159.21, 33.15, 35.5, 54.46, 56.25, etc. In a few cases *de* is omitted: *pourçaça gent tant come il pot avoir* 132.2, 96.13, 141.18. Once it is used as a declinable adjective: *tante gent* 150.20. *Autant* and *combien* are both followed by the genitive: 87.49, 141.12, 160.62.

Petit, used as an adverb of quantity, is generally followed by *de*: *petit a l'en vëu de si perilleuses rescousses* 161.58, 61.5, 117.5, 169.8, etc. One exception: *petit mangièrent et burent, car petit avoient viande* 83.5. Like *pe'it* is treated:

moult: *moult de peine* 50.11, *moult des autres* 144.13, 7.7, 22.13, 22.16, 30.11, 32.2 and many other examples. Whenever the use of *de* would make the construction awkward, Villehardouin can dispense with it, as in the following instances: *mout i gaaignierent chevaus et armes et autre richesses* 157.26, *moult i ot gens navrés et mortes* 49.33, 65.9. This is particularly the case, when *moult* is separated from the noun to which it belongs.

Poi is always followed by the genitive: *poi de gent* 74.45, 49.31, 74.41, 134.2, 84.12, etc. Once it is used with the verb *estre* like an adjective: *li Franc furent poi* 174.29.

Nus des autres 93.29.

Chascuns d'aus 70.17, 170.34.

Maint is generally used as an adjective, as many examples will show where it is inflected: *mainle larme* 19.9, *maintes autres bonnes gens* 3. 16, 1.10, 5.7, 4.8, 8.8, 25.13, 28.13, etc. In a few instances it is used like a noun followed by a genitive: *mains*

des autres 100.26, *maint s'en croisierent* 1.20, 31.22, 87.47, 137.42. *Mains* (Modern French *moins*): *il n'i en avoit mie mains* 107.22.

Bien des autres 145.38.

The greatest liberty Villehardouin enjoys in regard to the use of the partitive genitive after the adverbs of negation, where the modern language is very regular. *Pas* is rarely or never used in cases where the negation can be syntactically connected with the object; *mie*, *point* or the simple *ne* are used instead.

Mie is almost always used without *de*: *quar nous ne troverions mie chevance en autre leu* 49.18; *ce n'estoit mie merveille* 103.41, 62.16, 154.17, 162.6, etc. One exception: *ce n'estoit mie de merveille* 150.23. After the simple *ne*, *de* is generally omitted: *là ot tant de navrés que n'estoit fins né mesure* 105.17, 82.21, 101.10, 107.17, etc. Exception: *il dicta ceste oeuvre né onques n'en menti à son escient de mot* 60.4. The genitive is always used after *ne point*: *il n'i avoit mès point de pais* 97.6, 62.24, 74.41, 133.36, 174.9.

A few instances may be found in Villehardouin of a construction, which was used very rarely in Latin, but which is very common in Modern French; namely, the partitive genitive by means of an ellipsis: *il nous a donné de ses nouvelles*. Villehardouin: *sachiés certainement que nous vos ferons du pis que nous pourrons* 68.18; *il vous donra volontiers de son avoir* 66.13; *pour Dieu, si i mete chascuns de son avoir* 35.8, *si avoit dedens de ses chevaliers et de ses serjans* 136.10.

This construction, I believe, gave rise to what I may be allowed to term, the "partitive genitive absolute" of the Modern French: *nous avons de bons livres*. This use of the genitive in which the modern language is so persistent, is found only sporadically in Villehardouin, and it seems to me that neither the clearness nor the elegance of his style suffer in the least from the greater liberty which he enjoys in this respect compared with the Modern French. He says in 14.5: *ces gens porteront viande à neuf mois*, and in 64.15: *et se porchaga de viande cil qui mestier en ot*, and I cannot see why the one construction should be better, i. e. clearer or more elegant than the other. The first is certainly simpler. In Modern French, however, the use of a concrete noun in a general sense without the preposition *de* is impossible, except in a number of pretrified expressions, where noun and verb express a single idea. We can no

more say, as Villehardouin was permitted to do: *il n'avoient mie pooir de pourchacier viandes* 74.39, and a pity it is that this liberty has been lost, for there is nothing more monotonous in the French language than the occurrence on one page of a dozen or more of partitive genitives without any real *raison d'être*. The French themselves are conscious of it and omit *de* whenever the use of it, although demanded by the general rule, would defy the first principles of rhetoric, as for instance in: *enfants, parents, amis, étrangers, tous le pleurèrent*. Beside the above cited example there will be found in Villehardouin only a very small number of cases of this "partitive genitive absolute" (124.23, 144.2), but a great many others in which contrary to Modern French usage, *de* is omitted: *nous ferons vaissiaus pour passer quatre mille et cinq cens chevaux et nés pour passer quatre mille et cinq cens chevaliers* 14.1; similarly in 32.2, 54.6, 46.4, 49.3, 62.13, 62.18, 74.39, 75.4, 77.7, 87.6, 105.15, 121.20, 134.14, 141.33, etc. At any rate Villehardouin makes very arbitrary use of this construction, as the following example may show: *tiex i ot qui le guerpirent et de tiex qui bien le firent à la parfin* 144.2.

5. The genitive is used in Latin after the verbs of reminding, remembering and forgetting: *admoneo, commoneo, commonefacio, memini, reminiscor, recordor, obliviscor*. Most of these verbs have been lost in Modern French; *recorder* has assumed a different meaning and a different construction, and *oublier* is treated as a transitive verb. The ideas of remembering and reminding are now expressed by other verbs, or, what is very common in French, by a periphrastic construction. *Se souvenir* governs the genitive. The only verb of this class which is found in Villehardouin, is one which was very rarely used in Latin, and then in a different sense, viz.: *summonere*, Old French *semondre*. In Modern French it has been lost. Villehardouin: *meintes fois vous en ont semons et encore vous en semonons-nous* 94.8.

6. The genitive is used in Latin after certain adjectives denoting a relation to a thing (adjectiva relativa). As these cases are very nearly related to those in which the *ablativus causae*, or *instrumenti* is used, I shall speak of them in that connection.

The Genitive in French succeeding the Latin Ablative.

Since the ablative in Latin assumed the functions of several cases of the Indo-European case-system, it had to express several distinct ideas, which apparently have no connection with one another. For our purpose it is unnecessary to go farther back than the Latin, and following one of our best school grammars we will assign to the Latin ablative three elements, viz.: 1) *where?* 2) *whence?* 3) *wherewith?* The second function of the ablative, viz., to express a point of departure, coincides with the general idea underlying the use of the preposition *de*, and it will be safe to say, that here originated the use of *de* instead of the simple ablative. When the case-distinctions were lost in French, *de* came to be used to express also *wherewith?* and to a certain extent even *where?*, the latter at least in the figurative sense of *when?*

1. The ablative expressing *whence?*

The ablative is used in Latin either absolutely or with the prepositions *ab*, *de*, *ex*, to denote the point from where something starts or where it originates. The prepositions are generally employed when the sense is literal; when it is figurative, they are usually omitted. In French *de* takes the place of the simple ablative as well as of the ablative with *ab*, *de*, *ex*. Thus we find in Villehardouin *de* expressing the point of departure.

a. in space.

aa. after nouns: *le passage de Venise* 31.14, *mainte larme i et plourée au départir de lor pays et de lor gens et de lor amis* 30.5.

bb. after verbs of motion: *onques mais à nul jor ne parti de nul port plus biaux estors* 44.14, 32.18, 44.16, 56.21, etc.; *si fist son ost issir de Constantinoble* 64.11, 45.8, 70.29, 72.17; *dui blanc abbé, qu'il avoit amenés avec lui de son païs* 27.14, 56.15, 116.11; similarly: *traïr de* 42.4, 45.8; *recevoir de* 47.5; *mouvoir de* 49.17 and many other verbs of motion; *semondre*, in the figurative sense of *to alienate*: *dont vindrent avant cil qui se descordoient et semonèrent les autres de leur seremens* 89.10.

Estre loing or esloigniés de: *li emperèces Morchufles n'ert mie à celui jour esloingiés de Constantinoble plus de quatre journées* 113.2, *et bien estoit neuf journées loing de Constantinoble* 154.33; also by an ellipsis: *une abaie qui estoit à trois lieues de Constantinoble* 61.13. The participle

Nés, used in Latin with the simple ablative to denote the parent, is used in Villehardouin with *de* to denote the place of one's birth: *cil messages estoit nés de Lombardie* 56.16; *et ce fut une chose dont il reçurent mout grant blasme ou païs dont il se départirent et en celui meisme dont il furent nés* 148.10.

Similarly to the Latin construction *prope ab*, we find in French the genitive used with *près* and related words. Villehardouin: *près d'ici* 62.18, *près des murs* 62.35, 42.15, 75.11, etc., *ensi leur dura cis périls et cis assaus près de dis jors* 76.13, *et bien furent tous près d'estre perdus* 135.25: *hors de la porte* 95.6, *fors de la teste* 115.19, *et commencèrent à mettre hors les chevaus des huisiers* 105.8, 56.31, *de fors la ville* 164.19, *fors du cuer* 136.28. Similarly

De toutes pars often means not "from all sides," but "on all sides" and even "towards all sides:" *si s'espandront de toutes pars parmi la terre pour querre viandes* 62.12, 49.30, 72.14, 80.22, 96.3; *d'autre part*: *le palais l'empereour Alexis, qui ert apeles Calcidoines et fu encontre Constantinoble de l'autre part du bras, devers la Turkie* 62.40, 90.5, 64.12, 70.25, 81.7, etc.

The verb *approcher*, in Modern French always construed with the genitive, is found in Villehardouin with the genitive, dative, and accusative: *lors véissiés les eschielles aprochier de la vile* 77.9; *ensi fu Johannis tot le mois d'avril devant Andrenoble et l'aprocha si de prendre que . . .* 172.1; *en mains lius refurent les eschièles des nés aprochiés as murs* 103.14; *et dura-il bien cis frons trois arbalestrées, et commença aprochier la rive qui desoz les murs et desoz les tours estoit* 77.5; *et fu jà de l'iver grant partie passée et entour la Chandelor estoit et prochoit li Caresmes* 100.2; *dui nés aprochièrent si la tor l'une par devant et l'autre part* 104.18.

b. in time: *de la Saint Jehan en un an* 18.9, 88.27, 89.31, 89.22; *d'hui en huit jors* 13.4, *de jor en jour* 54.12, *d'eures en autres* 92.18, 102.3; *et de lonc tens estoit prophetisié que* 127.24.

On the idea of the element *whence*? contained in the ablative is based the use of this case after the verbs of removing, preventing, delivering and others which denote separation. This ablative is in French invariably replaced by the genitive. Thus we find in Villehardouin: *ensi fu Andrenoble délivrée del siège* 121.1; *mais nepourquant il en gari et en fu portés en litidre*

153.27; *mais por nos péchies furent li pelerin resorti de l'assaut* 103.18; *cil estoient soustrait de l'obedience de Rome* 98.20; *tuit cil seroient quites de tous les péchies* 1.7; *que nous puissions estre acquités de nostre passage paier* 35.6.

In Modern French, *arracher*, *échapper*, *emprunter*, *acheter*, and similar verbs, may be construed either with the genitive, if nothing but the simple separation is to be expressed, or with the dative (of interest) if an intimate relation exists between the direct and the indirect object. Villehardouin distinguishes similarly: *si avoit un frère que il avoit rachaté de la prison des Turcs* 42.3; *car de molt gran péril furent eschapé* 95.8; *que onques nus n'en eschapa* 100.23, 100.29; *et les commencent à rescoure moult vigoureusement dou feu* 96.5. But: *dont prisrent li message congié à l'empereour Kyrsac* 87.26, (now generally *prendre congé de q*); *et leur fist tolir leur avoirs* 153.6; *li rois de Hongrie nos toll Jadres en Esclavonie* 38.7; 43.8, 68.16, 72.22, 83.13, etc.

Upon the idea of separation is also founded the use in Latin of the ablative with adjectives or adverbs in the comparative degree instead of *quam* with the nominative, or, in the construction of the accusative with the infinitive, instead of *quam* with the accusative of the subject. The ablative instead of *quam* with the accusative of the object is rarely found in the best writers, unless the object be a relative pronoun, in which case the ablative is preferred. In French this "ablative of comparison" has been replaced by the genitive, but the use of the same has been very much restricted; in fact it has been confined to the comparatively rare case where the adverbs *plus* or *moins* are followed by a numeral or such words as *midi*, *minuit*, *demi*, *quart*, *moitié*. We can say in Modern French *cette ville a plus de quarante mille habitants*, but the construction *son frère est plus jeune de lui* is no more allowable. Villehardouin stands clearly in the middle between the Latin and the Modern French. On the one hand, he has more liberty than the Latin writers of the classical period, as he can use the genitive instead of *que* with either nominative or accusative: *et cis quens Thiebaus estoit jeunes hons et n'avoit pas plus de vint-dui ans*, *et li quens Loos n'en avoit mie plus de vint-sept* 2.6; *il portèrent es nés perrières et mangoniaus plus de troi cens* 44.13; 53.10, 74.44, 103.18, 108.4, 108.6, 113.3, 131.8, 134.10, 139.21, 177.60. On

the other hand, his use of the genitive case is not so much restricted, by far, as that of the Modern French. The following examples will show this: *dont mout avoit à cel tans de bons; nus homs à celle heure n'en avoit plus de lui* 22.13; *et n'i avoit celle qui ne fust graindre de une des nostres* 81.23; *bien tesmoignent cil qui la furent que onques chevaliers ne se desfendi miels de lui* 143.29.

Again, from the idea of "going out of" grew out that of "originating in;" consequently the genitive came to be used in French to denote the origin of a thing or of an action: *maint autres homes du païs de Bourgoigne* 28.9; *la dame si ot de son seigneur une fille* 23.14; *li quens del Perche mourut, dont fu moult grans damages* 30.2, 31.18, 33.4, 43.15, 50.5, etc.; *tant i travellèrent que païs en fu* 50.13; *les gens de leur païs* 56.14, 69.14, 70.4, 72.5, etc.; *si qu'il en ot moult grant pris* 72.13, 75.16, 89.40, 87.42, etc.; *et mout estoient durement lassés de la bataille et de l'ocision* 105.20, 146.43; *car la discorde estoit une chose dont grant maus péust avenir* 125.3; *et li prist une maladie dont il mourut* 98.3, 98.7; *li quens Joffrois s'accoucha de maladie* 29.8, 122.16, 130.5.

This is particularly the case after all words denoting affections of the mind and external expressions of such affections. Thus we find the genitive:

a. after nouns: *la cremeur qu'il avoient de l'empereour Alexis* 68.20; *si ot grant peur de lui* 98.2, 147.3; *dont il et tuit li baron orent mout grant duel* 130.16; *que il eust pitié de la terre d'outre mer* 32.9, 41.4, 16.11, 55.22, 58.32, 59.11, 91.10; *mout firent grant joie de sa venue li Grien* 92.4, 21.5, 84.9, 107.35, 112.17, 121.5, 125.2; *dont il recurent grant honte* 31.16; *si en recurent moult grant blâme* 145.35, 54.15; *l'empereour Baudoin l'en sot mout bon gré* 127.33, 52.2; *li baron li crioient merci de la prise de Jadres* 55.15, 147.23, 42.17, 147.32; *et li quens de Saint-Gile en ot si grant envie* 109.19, 109.15; *moult fu grans desconfors aus pèlerins de la mort au conte Thiebaut de Champagne* 25.6.

b. after adjectives: *nepourquant fut-il molt liés de sa venue* 22.4, 37.10, 76.34, 80.4, 109.29, 127.7, 129.20, 171.11; *si en furent moult dolent et moult irié* 91.10; *car à si grant chose come à l'empire de Constantinoble poés croire que mout en i avoit abaans et envieus* 109.7.

c. after verbs: *plorer* 17.2, 19.9; *se merveiller* 13.4, 43.3, 52.15; *se resjouir* 60.9; *se plaindre* 119.4, 123.12; *se vengier* 123.26; *se souffrir* 29.12; *blasmer* 22.17, 31.9, 46.9, etc.; once *blasmer* is used with a dative and with an accusative: *et li blasmoit le tort qu'il avoit envers els* 92.21; *louer* 73.2; *mercier* 84.10; *reconforter* 74.1; *desconforter* 73.2; *peser* has two different constructions: *dont avint une aventure dont mout pesa à ceus de l'ost* 56.4 and: *et fist grant semblant que il l'en pesast* 98.9; *irier* 91.10, 91.36; *courecier* 43.13, 48.7, 77.2, 124.24; *esbaïr* 58.27, 32.3; *s'esmaïer* 44.22, 32.3, 61.22, 172.36; *resbaudir* 103.23; *effréer* 151.35; *espoenter* 172.35.

In Latin *propter* or other prepositions are often used to express the cause after verbs of the above class. Villehardouin rarely uses another construction than the genitive case. Once two different constructions are found in the same sentence: *molt fu nostre Sires piteusement loés et merciés par les pèlerins, pour ce que il les avoit en tele manière secorus en poi de tans, et de ce que il estoient mis au desor de ce dont il soloient estre au desous* 84.10.

Again the ablative, by means of its element *whence?*, is used in Latin with verbs in the passive voice to denote the logical subject or that by which anything is effected and which in the active construction is put in the nominative. With personal nouns the preposition *ab* must be used. This ablative, whether with or without preposition, is in Modern French regularly rendered by the genitive. At the same time, however, the use of the Latin preposition *per* has been very much extended and the same is now generally employed to denote the author of a physical action, while *de* has been confined to express the logical subject of passive verbs denoting a mental process, or where the effect upon an object is direct and immediate, as with the verbs of perceiving, knowing, recognizing, receiving, abandoning, etc.

Here is another point where Villehardouin's language stands exactly in the middle between the Latin and the Modern French. While on the one hand he distinguishes no more, as was done in Latin, between nouns denoting persons and common nouns, he does on the other hand not yet distinguish between physical and mental processes. The genitive is used throughout to denote the logical subject of verbs in the passive voice. Thus we find: *il furent moult regardé de maintes gens* 16.4; *car onques ne fu homs qui tant fust amés de ses homes et d'autre gent com il estoit*

23.10; *li plais fu moult contredit de ceus qui . . .* 38.16; *car onques si grans affaires ne fu empris de nulle gent* 61.23; *il a illes prës de ici qui ne sont mie habitées sē de laboureurs de blēs non* 62.9; *car onques de si poi de gent tant de pueple ne fu assegiē en une vile* 74.45; *cela fu arse dou feu* 96.25, 91.2; *clērement fu seu des Griens et des François comment il avoit esté estranglē* 98.10; *et furent escomēniē dou clergiē cil qui ne la tenroient* 102.8, *mout furent volentiers veus li message de tous ceus de l'ost et ceus de la cité* 120.7; *mout fu plains de ses homes et de ses amis* 136.5; *si fu la convenance retraite de l'empereur et del marchis* 124.31 and many other examples.

2. The ablative expressing *wherewith*?

The ablative is used in Latin to express the means or the instrument by which a thing is done. In Old French as well as in Modern French, the genitive takes the place of this ablative. Thus we find in Villehardouin: *il fu fērus d'un glaive parmi le cors* 72.10, 153.26, 177.68, 152.11; *là ot Guillaumes de Champlite le bras brisiē d'un pierre* 75.15; *si virent la cité fermée de haus murs et de grans tours* 44.19, 75.2; *lors se clostrent li nostre de lices par defors* 153.18, 74.23, 158.17, 167.14; *et ne fu armēs que d'un gambeson et d'un chapel de fer* 75.21; *il sembloit que toute la champaigne fust coverte de batailles* 81.18; *quar trop en avons petit à ce que nos en avons à faire* 62.7; *une colombe qui estoit une des plus hautes et des mius ouvrées de marbre* 127.10; *l'endemain se recrurent d'une route de serjans à cheval* 141.14; *et se combatoient main à main de haches et d'espēs* 76.30.

Rarely other prepositions are used instead of *de*: *qui tout vit cela à l'ucil* 79.9; *le mur del Dimot que Johannis avoit abatu à ses perières et à ses mangoniaus* 164.7; *mainte menue gent s'en emblèrent par les nēs de marchēans* 54.5; *ardoir à feu* 91.12.

In Modern French *avec* is used to express the instrument necessary to perform a certain act, while *de* is used to express the instrument which may be used to perform the act: *elle nous faisait signe de la main*, but: *elle écrivait avec une plume*. (While this rule holds good in general, there are, of course, exceptions to it). Villehardouin does not make this distinction.

The ablative is used in Latin with verbs denoting plenty or want, and with the corresponding transitives of filling, endowing, depriving. The corresponding adjectives govern the genitive. In French the genitive succeeds both Latin constructions.

Thus Villehardouin: *lor nés chargiës de dras et de viandes et autre belles choses* 30.19; *onques en nul termine ne furent aussi chargiës de guerre come il furent à celui point* 169.22, 44.7, 147.8, 165.28; *ceste vile est de tous biens garnie* 49.20, 128.6, 130.22, etc.; *car il pristrent dix-sept grans nés et les emplirent de grans merriens et d'estoupes et de pois et de tonnaus vuis* 95.17; *la dame estoit grosse d'un fil* 23.14; *et nous irons riches d'avoir et de viandes* 89.21; *une nef de Pisans qui pleine estoit de marchandise* 96.25; *et nostre gent sont besoigneux de viandes* 62.12; and many other examples.

In conformity with the Latin construction *potior aliqua re* we find *se saisir* used with the genitive in French: *quand je serais saisis de ma terre et de ma cité* 116.21; 118.30, 124.34, etc.

The ablative is used in Latin with, or without, the preposition *cum* to express the manner in which a thing is done. Villehardouin decidedly avoids substituting the simple genitive for this *ablativus modi*, as has been done in the Modern French. There are really only two instances of a genitive of manner in Villehardouin: *qui de bon cuer avoit volu le bien de l'ost* 91.38; and vid. below; while in a great many cases contrary to modern usage different prepositions are used. Very often, to be sure, the modern language may use either *de* or some other preposition, but with the above and one more exception Villehardouin never uses the genitive. Thus we find: *en tel manière* 12.4, 16.8, 29.9, 51.5, 58.30, 61.10, and many other instances; *en toutes les manières* 12.11, 87.21, 94.13, etc.; *en ceste manière* 38.15, 151.33, 153.1; *en maintes manières* 87.44, 112.14, etc.; *à nule manière* 121.13, 123.19; and even *par tele manière* 124.33, while the modern construction with the genitive occurs only once: *en cele colombe dont Morchafles chai avoit ymages de maintes manières ovrées el marbre* 127.21, and here it may be considered doubtful whether *de maintes manières* belongs as *ablativus modi* to *ovrées*, or as *ablativus qualitatis* to *ymages*. Similarly *à bonne foi* 19.5 and *en bonne foi* 55.10, 59.19, 110.5; never the Modern French *de bonne foi*; *par force* 45.5, 64.14, 72.22, 101.17, 103.36, 105.3, 152.9; *par vive force* 76.28, 96.10; *à force* 70.9. The common modern construction *de force* does not occur. *Il tendra cinc cens chevaliers en la terre d'outremer à sa despense* 51.25; 87.9, 87.11; once *de sa despense* is used: 51.22, but this must not necessarily be taken as a genitive of manner; *par autres chemins* 32.2; *ensi le receurent à moult*

grant joie 57.1; 33.7, 87.31, 111.14, 92.7, 110.33, 177.37; *et il fn receus à moult grant honeur* 56.25, 124.3; *il furent tuit à un accord* 110.18 (now *d'un accord* or *d'accord*); *il me recevroient volentiers et à gré* 116.19; *et li autre remestrent mout à malaise dedens Constantinoble et à mout grand mēsaize* 150.35.

These examples will show that Villehardouin avoids using the genitive to express such relations as were expressed in Latin by the ablative of manner, and prefers some other preposition to *de*.

3. The ablative expressing *where*?

The ablative was used in Latin with the preposition *in*, and in some particular cases, without any preposition, to denote the place *where*? This ablative cannot be rendered by the genitive in French; a preposition must be used instead. The Latin *terra marique* is usually *par terre et par mer* or *sur terre et sur mer*. Only once Villehardouin uses *de la terre* in the sense of *by land*: 158.15. By a tropical use of the element *where*? the ablative came to be employed to express *when*? This ablative of time is rendered by the genitive in French; but the use of the same has been very much restricted. It is only used in certain adverbial phrases e. g.: *de jour et de nuit*, *de mon temps*, *de bonne heure*, etc. In Villehardouin we find only two instances of the genitive of time: *car n'iert eure, nē de jor nē de nuict que* 74.33, and *l'endemain de haute heure* 99.11. In all other cases different prepositions are used, e. g.: *dont moult avoit à ce tans de bons* 22.13; *au matin fu li parlemens en un vergier* 27.3; *par nuit* 99.22; *à la vesprée* 103.27; 1.2, 13.6, 22.14, 42.1, 88.3, 45.5, etc.

De before infinitives.

Of *de* before infinitives I might have spoken under several of the preceding headings, but it seems convenient to speak of it separately. The use of *de* before infinitives has its origin without doubt in the Latin construction of the genitive of the gerundium, but it has crept in, in several cases, where in Latin *ad* with the accusative of the gerundium was used, which latter construction has in French generally been replaced by *à* with the infinitive. Villehardouin's usage will be illustrated by the following examples: *li message furent aparellié de ce otroier qu'il requeroient* 13.12; 116.23, 170.65 (the modern synonym *apprêter* is usually followed by *à*); *il estoient prest de asseurer ceste con-*

venance 15.4; *il estoient prest de mouvoir* 34.7 (Villehardouin does not distinguish as the Modern French does, between *prêt à faire qc.* = ready, prepared to do a thing, and *prêt de faire qc.* = disposed, willing to do a thing. [Littré]); *et si serai-je bien atornés d'aler avec vos ou d'envoier si come je vous ai en convenant* 88.34 (if the verb existed with the same meaning in Modern French, it would probably be construed with *à*); *que cil qui tel murdre avoit fait, n'avoit droit à terre tenir* 98.17 (Modern French *avoir droit de faire qc.*); *nous nous sommes tuit accordé de faire empereour* 110.27 (the modern construction would be with *à*); *cil del rivage leur pooient aidier de traire et de lancier* 170.72 (Modern French *aider q. à faire qc.*).

If the infinitive is governed by a noun, Villehardouin generally uses *de*, as in the following phrases, *prendre jour de faire qc.* 35.6; *avoir mestier de faire qc.* 39.10, 62.16; *avoir ochoison* 40.3; *avoir pooir* 51.26, 55.26, 74.39, 177.26; *avoir volenté* 51.28; *faire proïdre* 147.29; *prendre conseil* 157.37, 160.26, 163.10, etc., all followed by *de* with the infinitive.

De in French succeeding the Latin preposition *de*.

De in French succeeds the Latin preposition *de* in the sense of *concerning*, *about* or *on*. This is particularly the case after verbs of speaking and thinking. Villehardouin's usage agrees here with that of the Modern French, except in a few cases: *vous dirons des pelerins* 31.20; 101.2, 151.15, 154.2; *croire q. de qc.* 65.22 instead of the modern construction *croire qc. à q.* Similarly: *puis leur menti de quanques il lor avoit en convenant* 153.5: "in regard to what had been arranged between them." Also: *s'entraider de la guerre* 175.26.

CONCLUSION.

The results of the present investigation may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The substitution of a periphrastic construction by means of the preposition *de* for the Latin genitive and ablative cases began with the *genitivus subjectivus* and the *genitivus partitivus* and the ablative expressing *whence* ?; in Villehardouin's time it had already been extended to all the other functions of the genitive and the ablative, except, the ablative of manner and the

ablative expressing *where*? The construction of the oblique case without *de* and the use of the dative instead of the Latin possessive genitive are very limited in extent.

2. There is, however, in Villehardouin's language a much greater freedom in regard to the use of the genitive, compared with the modern language, especially in the use of the genitive of comparison and the partitive genitive. The use of the latter by means of an ellipsis, which is very common in Modern French, is almost unknown to him. Villehardouin possesses much more liberty than the modern language in regard to the syntactical position of the genitive.

It seems doubtful whether the Modern French has gained anything in exchange for the lost freedom of the language of Villehardouin's time.